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These factors cannot but create distrust toward others and lability 856
in human relationships. Children must be left with a sense of bewilderment in placing their loyalties and with an essential ignorance of warm and trustful relationships. The lack of training and praise, as well as the presence of teasing, ridicule, and fear, combined with lack of privileges and esteem, must create in the child an essential distrust of itself. All these factors will influence ego formations. They will probably affect morality clusters by failing to provide consistent behavioral precepts. They deprive the child of definite loved persons by means of whom 577
social standards can be internalized.

I do not wish to imply that the Alorese are without such standards—social life without them could not exist. But there is good reason to believe that in Alor the standards are not so rigid or so deeply rooted as they are in our middle class. The likelihood of a deep sense of [154]
guilt, therefore, and of turning aggressions inward upon the self to the point of suicide is much less pronounced. Suicide as a culturally recog- [762]
nized device is unknown, and I have records of only a very few situations that might be interpreted by implication as suicidal. (See Chapter 7.)

In respect to sex the culture is much less harsh. Sexual activity is 856
expected to diminish during late childhood. However, information regarding it is not withheld, and disapproved activity seems to be no more harshly treated than social offenses such as theft and disobedience. Again, as in earlier developmental periods, the activities of the instincts [155]
seem to be less destructively handled than those of the ego.

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158 787 828 dead father was calling him. He came to a big stone and pretended to catch a rat under it. Then he broke off a piece of stick, held it near his crotch, and offered it to one of his guardians for his hungry children. The man who was the butt of this malice struck Fanseni's fingers only to have him say, "Eh, that's fine." Also, on the way down the slope Fanseni ate certain foods raw that are ordinarily cooked. A little later, without showing any signs of discomfort, he ate a raw tuber known to be extremely astringent.

158 787 828 762 Finally he reached his father's grave and there ordered the others to dig his own grave just about two yards away. This they did. He then gave them further orders, such as to fetch his shroud and eating plate and to give his bow to a cousin. All these errands he assigned one at a time in order to have people run back and forth as much as possible. Finally he adjusted his shroud and got into the grave. He got out again, however, complaining that a stone in it made him uncomfortable and asking to have it removed. He got in once more and then asked to have his food plate placed next to his body under the shroud. One of the guardians asked, "Are you finished?" Fanseni answered, "I am through, so cover me up." People began shoving in the earth and Fanseni spoke for the last time, saying, "Now I am glad. Just now it was bad. That must not be. Now it is good."

When the earth completely covered his body, Fanseni moved. In a panic the buriers fetched two large stones and hastily dropped them on him before they finished filling in the grave. The whole event naturally frightened the villagers badly. For several nights they stopped [775] up every nook and cranny of their houses to prevent Fanseni's spirit from entering and during the day frequently inspected his grave to make sure it was still undisturbed.

158 In the relative mildness of aggression and in the openly suicidal quality this case differs from three other cases of recognized insanity. It resembles the other cases in its obscenity. The suicidal quality in all [689] these four cases must be recognized, however, since an uncontrollably violent person is apt to be killed. One woman, Matingmale, was actually killed by one of the victims of her destructiveness; another was spared only because of the intercession of her kin. The fourth case, a [762] man, danced challenge in front of the government soldiers who came to avenge the murder of the radjah in 1918. Exposing one's body to bullets with only a carabao shield as protection can be interpreted only as suicidal in intent.

[787 828] All four of these instances were thought to be cases of spirit possession. If the diagnosis made so far about the lack of avenues for internal-

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If the diagnosis made so far about the lack of avenues for internal— 154
izing aggression is correct, and if, on the other hand, society offers [762]
means, such as wealth, to externalize aggression, self-inflicted death is
not likely to be a highly developed personality trend. This alone might
explain the absence of institutionalized suicide. In addition, when death 787
may result from extranormal personality states, such as occur in delir- 758
ium, coma, and insanity, it becomes clear why spirit possession is an
evil and why shamanistic trances and intoxication have not been se-
lected for social emphasis.

INSANITY

Before continuing with ideas of burial and death, it may be appro- 828
priate to develop somewhat parenthetically such other data as are avail- 787
able on insanity. What precisely constitutes insanity in the mind of 158
the Atimelanger is as hard to define as it is among ourselves. The his-
tory of a "crazy" woman was given on page 107ff., and it will be re-
called that essentially the charge was one of prostitution. Lakamau the
Simpleton was not called crazy. There was one woman, usually fairly
quiet, who seemed to have hallucinations and whose chief claim to pecul-
iarity in the minds of local people was that she would run off alone and
spend the nights hidden in the fields rather than return to the house. She
was considered possessed of a spirit. She and the first woman were the
only two recognized by the community as insane (*lira*). In addition
there were many people whose "spirits would rise in them," which
meant that they had occasional attacks of hyperexcitability and about
whom one said, "They are crazy," using the term in the same loose and
often good-natured fashion in which we use it.

Also available were anecdotes about four other insane people no
longer living. The case of Fanseni has been quoted. The other three
cases were all characterized by greater destructive vigor; all were
considered spirit-possessed and their destructive attacks seem to have
broken out suddenly. For instance, Matingmale had worked quietly all
day weeding her sister's fields. That night she suddenly began to beat
her brother-in-law. She ran off, killed pigs and chickens, broke off corn,
reached into a pregnant pig and pulled out the unborn young, and
made obscene advances to men. People tied her up, but she broke away
and continued her destructive activities. People shot her in the shoul-
der, but she went on, ignoring the arrow still stuck in her flesh. She
tossed a small child in the air in play and continued to kill pigs and
generally frighten people. She was finally bound securely.

Her father sacrificed to the spirit supposedly possessing her, and she [755
was normal for about two months. Then she had another outburst in 782]
which she held her child upside down by its legs from the door hatch.